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16th Anniversary of the Signing of the Geneva Agreements on Indochina

DRVN FOREIGN MINISTRY'S STATEMENT

THE 1954 Geneva Agreements on Indochina have recognized and guaranteed the fundamental national rights of the peoples in Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos, namely independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of each country.

However, all along the past sixteen years, betraying their commitment, the US imperialists have blatantly and systematically violated the Geneva Agreements on Indochina, constantly challenged the fundamental national rights of the peoples in Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos. They have grossly threatened and brazenly interfered in these countries, and resorted to subversion, special war, local war, air and naval war of destruction and every other most brutal methods to turn Indochina into a military base and new-type colony of theirs.

Since President Nixon's inauguration, the US imperialists have feverishly carried out the "Vietnamization of the war" plan aimed at prolonging the aggressive war, maintaining the US military occupation of South Viet Nam and perpetuating the division of Viet Nam. They have been multiplying their very savage bombardments, intensifying the use of B-52 planes, napalm bombs and toxic chemical aerosols, South Vietnamese patriots and inflicting upon them most atrocious tortures and a very inhuman detention regime. They have continued brazen encroachments upon the sovereignty and security of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

At the Paris Conference, the Nixon Administration has persisted in its obdurate stand in negotiations, refused to withdraw totally and unconditionally its troops from South Viet Nam, clung to their present henchmen, the Thieu-Ky-Rhim administration and thwarted the right to self-determination of the South Vietnamese people.

Along with the "Vietnamization" of the war in Viet Nam, the Nixon Administration has prosecuted its "special war" in

Laos, engineered a coup d'état to sap the independence, peace and neutrality of Cambodia, and expanded the war to the whole of Indochina. This is an excessively dangerous military adventure which sabotages the whole of the Geneva Agreements on Indochina and seriously threatens peace in Asia and the rest of the world.

To deceive public opinion and cover up their crimes of prolonging and widening the aggressive war, the Nixon Administration has advanced many specious claims: US "respect for the Geneva Agreements," "respect for the right to self-determination of the Indochinese peoples," and the like.

However, all the peace hawks of the US imperialists can dupe nobody.

In the past sixteen years, the Vietnamese people, united as one man, have endured every sacrifice and hardship, and fought valiantly to defend their fundamental national rights and have recorded ever greater successes.

The Vietnamese people in the North have defeated the US imperialists' most savage war of destruction and compelled them to cease unconditionally the air and artillery bombardments against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. Their Southern fellow-countrymen have foiled the special war and are holding in check the local war of the US imperialists. Especially since the start of the generalized offensives and widespread uprisings in early 1968, the South Vietnamese people have won one resounding victory after another, driving the enemy deeper and deeper into their passive and defensive position and nipped the "Vietnamization" of the war plan in the bud.

The Khmer people have put up a continuous and unflinching struggle to baffie all manoeuvres of the US imperialists to undermine the independence, peace and neutrality of Cambodia. Since the US

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IN 1945 when the survivors of Hitler's camps revealed to the world all the horrors of their detention, the ruthless liquidation of tens of millions of men by the most ferocious methods of the SS, SA and Gestapo physical and moral tortures, the world was utterly aghast. Many could not believe that

regimes which set their faces against the trend of history, the declining regimes may resort to the worst means. A country apparently civilized for centuries, the cradle of the finest music, of the loftiest philosophies, could, when the forces of progress temporarily gave way, supply millions of executioners and

Men and Tigers

man had sunk to such a level of barbarity. But the truth was obvious: the Nazi camps did exist with their crematoria, their brutal as well as sophisticated methods of making people suffer to the utmost, and also of degrading in them all human dignity. The tortures of the past appeared to be children's games compared with those inflicted by modern fascism.

That barbarity wrought by the Hitlerites on concentration camps inmates was but part of a general policy. Nazi aircraft and armies reduced to smithereens whole cities ("coincided" them), blew up the dykes in the Netherlands, killed civilians, deported whole populations. In occupied Europe, suspected of sheltering resistance members! not to the patriots fallen into the hands of the Gestapo and SS!

From the struggle fortuitously victorious against fascism, humanity has learnt a bitter and valuable lesson. It is now aware that the

madmen who, prodded by their leaders, might indulge in the most heinous crimes.

SINCE the first years of the US control over South Viet Nam, the Vietnamese people have brought to light the atrocities of the Saigon regime instigated by its US advisors. Killing defenceless people, various tortures, multiplication of prisons and penal settlements where the jailers, familiar with American technique, combined physical torture with mental torment instigated by modern psychowar, and "sweeps" in many areas all that has been practised on a large scale since the very beginning, let's not forget it. The "tiger cages" have been in existence since that period.

Many people then could hardly believe that the US should sponsor such a policy, and they were eventually shocked by the indiscriminate bombings, heavier than those of the Luftwaffe, the spraying of napalm, phosphorus and "defoliants" and

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SOUTH VIET NAM

GIA LAI: Three enemy convoys intercepted on July 12: 34 vehicles destroyed, 179 enemy troops put out of action.

TAY NINH: An enemy military convoy heading for Cambodia attacked on July 15: 67 vehicles wrecked, 280 men put out of action.

SAIGON: Nguyen Van Thieu's "Presidential Palace" hit by rockets on the night of July 19.

PLAF pursuing the enemy.

NORTH VIET NAM

With the downing of a US pilotless plane over Thanh Hoa province on July 19, the total of US aircraft lost since August 5, 1964 is 3,356.



USSR SUPREME SOVIET CONDEMNS US AGGRESSION IN INDOCHINA

At its first session on July 15 in Moscow, the USSR Supreme Soviet, Eighth Legislature, unanimously adopted a resolution strongly condemning the US imperialists' war intensification in Indochina, TASS reported.

The statement said:

The aggression by the United States of America against the freedom-loving peoples of the Indochinese peninsula is entering a new, dangerous stage. After engineering the coup d'état in Phnom Penh, the American Government has extended the flame of its criminal war to neutral Cambodia, thus further aggravating the international situation and jeopardizing peace in South-East Asia.

The broadening of US aggression to Cambodia followed its aggression against Viet Nam and its armed intervention in Laos.

The fruits of the industrial labour of the Khmer people are being barbarously destroyed. Schools, hospitals, cultural works and rubber plantations have been razed. The withdrawal of US troops from Cambodia, and imperialist propaganda policy, cannot cover the evident fact that the US is pursuing its intervention in that country by the agency of its accomplices in using US aircraft and other military techniques.

US troops have brazenly challenged the international agreements on the neutrality of Laos, preventing the various political

groups of this country from reaching an agreement on the basis of the programme for a political settlement of the Lao problem expounded in the declaration of the Lao Patriotic Front on March 6, 1970.

The latest events in Indochina again have revealed US imperialist's plans of colonialist aggression. To quell the national liberation movement of the peoples in the Indochinese peninsula, impose neo-colonialist regimes on these countries and turn the whole of Indochina into a US military and strategic stronghold in South-East Asia are criminal goals for which American imperialism has committed bloody crimes in Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia.

In trying to reduce the losses of American troops, the present US Administration has been stubbornly trying to place on the Asian peoples all the burden of the war it has launched against them. It has been endeavouring to implement its criminal plans through the traitorous bureaucrats, puppet troops and mercenaries. The "Guam doctrine" of the US to put "Asian fight Asians" is precisely intended to achieve

such goals.

The "Vietnamization" of the war in South Viet Nam now undertaken by the US Government and its attempts to set up a Saigon-Bangkok-Phnom Penh military bloc while carrying out the Cambodia adventure are vivid illustrations of this policy.

In face of the danger of enslavement by imperialism, the fighting peoples in the Indochinese peninsula are closing their ranks. The Indochinese Peoples' Summit Conference, convened last April solemnly declared that from now on, the genuine patriotic force representing the 50 million people in the Indochinese peninsula would coordinate their efforts in the struggle against the common enemy. The struggle of the Indochinese peoples against US imperialism and its satellites is a shining example of courage and self-sacrifice. It is inspiring the peoples battling for national independence, social progress and peace to accomplish new exploits and face up to the imperialist policy of oppression, neo-colonialism and war.

Loyal to the peace-loving Leninist foreign policy, the Soviet Union strongly condemns American aggression in Indochina. The Soviet people side with the Vietnamese, Lao and Cambodian peoples who are waging a resistance full of sacrifices against aggression, for the freedom and independence of their countries. In

fulfilment of its sacred international duty, the Soviet Union gives a maximum support to the national liberation movement.

The USSR Supreme Soviet fully approves the policy and activities of the Soviet Government in connection with the support given to the Indochinese peoples in their effort against the imperialist aggression. United by fraternal ties to the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia, the Soviet people urge the cessation of the acts of aggression of the US Government in Indochina.

The USSR Supreme Soviet calls on all parliamentarians in all countries and all people of good will to raise their voices against US acts of aggression in Indochina and resolutely fight for the prompt and unconditional withdrawal of all US and satellite troops from Indochina in order to ensure to the peoples there the right to decide their own destinies without foreign intervention.

The policy of brigandage and aggression of the US ruling circle against the Vietnamese, Lao and Cambodian peoples is obviously doomed to failure.

History has shown that the peoples who struggle for the freedom and independence of their countries and are supported by the socialist countries and the world's peace, anti-imperialist and progressive forces, are invincible.

Against US Sabotage of the 1954 Geneva Agreements

LAO PATRIOTIC FRONT'S MESSAGE

On the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the signing of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Indochina and of the Month of Solidarity with the Vietnamese Struggle against US Aggression, the Central Committee of the Lao Patriotic Front (LPF) sent its warmest congratulations to the Viet Nam Fatherland Front, the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and the heroic people of North and South Viet Nam.

The message, dated July 19, 1970, denounced the US imperialists' systematic sabotage of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Indochina during the last 16 years; it also hailed the big successes of the Vietnamese people in the struggle against US aggression and in socialist construction in the North.

After condemning the US imperialists' prolongation of their war of aggression in South Viet Nam with "Vietnamization" which consists in applying Nixon's doctrine of "setting Asians against Asians," the message said: "We staunchly support the 10-point overall solution of the South Viet Nam NLF and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the RSVN, demanding that the US imperialists stop their war of aggression in South Viet Nam, withdraw at once US and satellite troops from there, strictly respect the sovereignty and security of the DRVN and let the Vietnamese people settle their own affairs without US interference.

In the light of the Joint Declaration of the Indochinese Peoples' Summit Conference, the Lao people pledge stronger solidarity with the Vietnamese and Cambodian peoples and more resolute opposition to US aggression. The Lao people are firmly convinced that the just struggle put up by the three brother peoples for independence, peace, sovereignty and territorial integrity, with the backing of peace and justice-loving peoples in the world, will end in victory."

CAMBODIAN NATIONAL UNION ROYAL GOVERNMENT'S STATEMENT

THE Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia stated the following statement on the occasion of the 16th anniversary of the signing of the 1954 Geneva Agreements:

"On July 20, 1954, the heroic Vietnamese, Lao and Khmer people forced French colonialism to put an end to its century-old domination especially in Viet Nam and Laos.

"The Geneva Agreements recognized and guaranteed the national independence, peace, unity and territorial integrity of each of the three countries and forbade all foreign interference in them.

"The United States, which has intervened to support French colonialism, refused to sign the Geneva Agreements and immediately undertook to violate them systematically. After preventing free and democratic elections for the unification of Viet Nam, it occupied South Viet Nam and openly committed aggression against North Viet Nam and Laos.

"In Cambodia, US imperialism has always plotted against its national unity and its policy of neutrality, peace and independence in an attempt to turn the country into a neo-colony and a base for aggression.

It violated almost daily her territorial integrity, causing serious material damage and numerous casualties among innocent civilians and national defence forces."

"In instigating the traitorous Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique's racist and fascist coup d'état of March 18, the statement went on, "the US imperialists undermined the national independence, neutrality and peace of Cambodia. On May 1st, 1970, by mounting an open invasion against Cambodia with its troops and the Saigon puppet troops of Thieu-Ky in order to rescue the hard-pressed Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique, it committed a heinous crime against the Khmer people and a flagrant violation of all the principles of international law and the 1954 Geneva Agreements.

democratic and prosperous Cambodia.

"... The Royal Government of National Union unequivocally made clear its refusal to participate in any negotiation or conference directly or indirectly aimed at legalizing the puppet regime of the traitors Lon Nol and Sirik Matak, partitioning Cambodia in any way and camouflaging US aggression. The only just solution in conformity with the spirit of the Geneva agreements is the immediate cessation of US aggression, the immediate, complete and unconditional withdrawal of all the puppet troops of South Viet Nam, Thailand and other satellites, and the immediate cessation of all acts of war against the fraternal Lao and Vietnamese peoples."

The statement concluded that closely united with the fraternal peoples of Viet Nam and Laos, enjoying firm support and military assistance from the People's Republic of China, and the Democratic Republic of Korea, the peoples of the other socialist and progressive countries and of the peace and justice-loving peoples in the world, by American people included, the Khmer people, under the leadership of the great leader by Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State, will inevitably carry the day.

2-9-1945

2-9-1970

The D. R. V. N. is 25 years old

HEALTH WORK in the Service of the People

Dr NGUYEN VAN HUONG
DRVN Health Minister

EDITOR'S NOTE - From this issue onwards, we are publishing a series of articles on the achievements of the DRVN over the last 25 years. As man is the greatest concern of the regime born from the August 1945 Revolution, we begin our series by a report on health care.

The path travelled by the health service of the DRVN for a quarter of a century through two devastating wars separated by a ten years' truce (1955-1964) has been marked with so many obstacles that the efforts made can be remembered with some pride.

Twenty-five years ago, under French rule, our poverty-stricken people were a prey to terrible diseases. Cholera, smallpox, typhoid fever, poliomyelitis, as well as tuberculosis, leprosy, malaria, trachoma, syphilis, gonorrhea, carried off thousands of people a year. Infant mortality reached frightful proportions chiefly in the countryside and mountain regions where sometimes it ran to 300 or even 400 per thousand. There were for the whole country but 47 hospitals and 9 maternity homes, most of them in towns and cities. One doctor attended to the health of 180,000 inhabitants. According to official statistics, in 1938 the death rate was 26 per thousand, one of the highest in the world.

Immediately after the founding of the DRVN in September 1945, special attention was paid to public health care. However twenty days later, the aggression by the French colonialists took place in the South, and a year later spread throughout the country.

In the nine years that followed, despite a fierce war, our health service—civilian as well as military—never fell short of its task. Responding to President Ho Chi Minh's appeal, doctors, nurses, pharmacists, laboratory assistants, renounced urban amenities and joined the resistance bases. Together with their doctors in the countryside, it set up the first therapeutic and research centres as well as the first pharmaceutical production units. Medical and pharmaceutical colleges were opened to train high-level and medium cadres needed for resistance. By dint of patience, we overcame all obstacles and did useful work, and as a result, no serious epidemic was experienced during those trying years.

It was in the harshest conditions of the war that our service was put on its mettle on the front and in the rear. Our exertions were rewarded by our ultimate victory.

In October 1954, peace was re-established in the North. The sanitary situation was however lamentable due to enemy occupation. After nine years of war, the health conditions in these areas were worse than in 1945. From all parts, the patients were swarming to the hospitals. We had 4,000 hospital beds in all while the rural prophylactic network was virtually non-existent. We had but 100 doctors, 200 assistant-doctors, and over one thousand hospital hands, that is less than



Hunting anopheles larvae

the medical personnel of an important province at present. But these cadres had been tempered by the resistance; their combativeness and devotion were most praiseworthy.

Such a shortage of cadres made it harder to wipe out in a short time the aftermaths of colonialism and to wipe had played havoc among an anemic population.

The directives of the Viet Nam Workers' Party to the medical services were quite clear and con-

cise on this subject:

— Vietnamese socialist medicine must see to the workers', mothers' and children's welfare and serve national defence. It must help raise the living standard of the people and particularly care for the health of the national minorities.

— Prophylaxis is its fundamental task.

— It must try to ally prophylaxis and therapeutics in the system of dispensaries or in the principle of dispensarization. Besides, in therapeutics, the patient must be treated as an organic entity.

— It must assimilate the experience of traditional medicine in the light of modern science.

consolidated our sanitary network step by step.

The most urgent problem was to check epidemics, infectious diseases, parasitoses and social diseases which constantly threatened the health of our people.

For the success of that task, two drastic measures were carried out simultaneously. On the one hand, to fight diseases in their source, to purify and disinfect the germ producing environments (drinking, defecation, refuse, etc.). On the other hand, to strengthen the defence of the human body by preventive vaccination and to deal with social diseases according to a general plan, all this, together with the constant improvement of the material and cultural welfare of the people.

Hygiene and prophylaxis, the major concern of the health service, obtained a great success. After overcoming many superstitions and bad habits, each household has now a double-tank latrine and a bathroom, and three households share a well on the average. Corporal hygiene which has become a common practice in the countryside is constantly reinforced by an unremitting combat against flies, filth, mosquitoes, bugs, lice, and other parasites. A new mode of life has been initiated in which physical culture and sports are practised on a larger and larger scale. The people have become more particular about the cleanliness of their foods and dwellings.

Thanks to vaccination carried out massively, cholera and smallpox disappeared completely as early as 1957, poliomyelitis in 1961, while typhoid fever has been regressing.

Against social diseases, a vigorous action has been taken. Trachoma has ceased to be a scourge: from 1955 to 1963, over 11 million people had their eyes examined, 8 million received treatment and 180,000 were operated upon chiefly for entropion. The emergency operations due to wide-

spread rural surgical antennae could be performed in time in districts and villages. In 1964 alone, 47,056 cases of such operations were recorded in communal dispensaries out of 59,212 cases for the whole country.

Thanks to Soviet assistance, a ten-year plan to combat malaria has been set on foot. At the beginning of 1961, anti-malaria committees were set up in villages and mountainous regions. The crusade against malarial fever began in 1962. In four years of strenuous efforts, that terrible endemic disease has receded.

The number of malarian patients in some provinces has decreased as follows:

Thai Nguyen: from 9.25% in 1957 to 0.014% in 1962;
Nghe An: from 8.8% in 1958 to 0.13% in 1964;
Ha Giang: from 10.76% in 1961 to 0.09% in 1964.

Since the end of 1964, malaria has been on the verge of extinction in the DRVN.

In the struggle against tuberculosis, vaccination of dead BCG and ambulatory treatment by associating INH to biogen stimulants or to bacillus subtilis have lowered the death rate to 8% in 1964 against 25% in 1958. The percentage of cases of children having primary infectious and tuberculous meningitis also drops.

With regard to leprosy we have restored the old leper-sanatoriums and built three new centres capable of accommodating 4,000 patients. The biggest one, at Quynh Lo, which can house 2,600 patients, is provided with up-to-date conveniences and a great quantity of medical material. In ten years, 5,998 patients have been treated in these centres and 1,310 completely cured have returned to normal life.

Mothers and children's welfare has been satisfactory. Childbirth mortality was 0.4%, in 1964 as against 20% under colonialism. Fetal death rate was only 25.8% in 1963.

(To be continued)

FOR A POLITICAL SOLUTION TO THE LAO PROBLEM

ON the occasion of the 8th anniversary of the signing of the 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos (July 23), the CC of the Lao Patriotic Front has made public a Memorandum regarding the escalation of the war of aggression in Laos by the Nixon Administration and the settlement of the Lao problem.

The Memorandum comprises 3 parts:

1. US intervention and aggression and its systematic sabotage of the 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos.

2. Application of the Nixon doctrine and escalation of the war of aggression in Laos.

3. The fight in self-defence of the Lao people and the will for peace of the Lao patriotic forces.

The document devotes considerable space to the 2nd part.

Hacked by hard facts, it condemns the innumerable crimes committed by the US imperialists against the Lao people:

— Escalation in logistic supply, the supply of US military personnel and in the use of US combat troops in the "special war."

— Frantic beefing up of the puppet army with the "special forces" as the chief shock force and reinforcement of the latter's base camps.

— Intensified bombing of Lao territory.

— Incursions into the liberated zone with Operation Kon Kiet against

the Xieng Khouang—Plain of Jars area as a typical example of the application of the Nixon doctrine in Laos, an escalation of the ground war by the Nixon Administration.

— Increasing use of troops of the Thai regular army in the "special war" and preparations for new war escalation in Laos within the framework of the application of the Nixon doctrine on an Indochinese scale.

Concerning the good-will and peace desire of the Lao patriotic forces the Memorandum underscores the soundness of the 3-point Declaration of March 6, 1970 of the CC of the Lao Patriotic Front on a political solution to the Lao problem. But, as the Memorandum points out, "up to now, the peaceful settlement of the Lao problem on the basis of the Lao Patriotic Front's 5-point proposal has not been brought any nearer. No facilities have been provided for the Lao parties concerned to meet at the same table, the immediate obstacle being continued US bombing of Lao territory."

As a proof of the good will and peace desire of the Lao patriotic forces, the Memorandum quotes from the June 12, 1970 message sent by Prince Souphanouvong, Chairman of the Lao Patriotic Front CC, to Prince Souvanna Phouma: "I reaffirm that the 5-point statement on March 6, 1970 by the Lao Patriotic Front constitutes a sound basis for the settlement of the Lao problem. The LFP is ready to meet the other Lao parties concerned immediately after the complete and unconditional

cessation of the US bombardments against Lao territory."

This was a new effort full of good will made by the LFP in the settlement of the Lao problem.

"Prince Souvanna Phouma must adopt a serious attitude and stop eluding the question of ending US bombing. If he refuses to free himself from the pressure by the US and the ultra-reactionaries in Vietnam and keeps pleading for the escalation of the US war of aggression and intensified bombing of Laos' territory, he will have to bear full responsibility for the consequences of his actions."

"Since the US has committed intervention and aggression in Laos and sabotaged the 1962 Geneva Agreements, it must stop its intervention and aggression, and its sabotage of the Geneva Agreements, and thoroughly respect these agreements; it absolutely has no right to encroach the territory of Laos, an independent and sovereign country. Since the US has conducted the bombings of Laos' territory, it must put a halt to the bombing without laying down any conditions. The cessation of US bombings will create a more favourable climate for the Lao parties concerned to meet at an early date."

"Should the Nixon Administration stubbornly continue to escalate its war of aggression and increase bombing raids on Laos' territory, it would have to totally answer for all sequels of these acts. Exercising their legitimate rights to

self-defence, the Lao patriotic forces and people are resolved to counter all escalations taken by the Nixon Administration, and will deal more stinging blows at the US aggressors and their lackeys if they obstinately commit more crimes."

"The Lao Patriotic Front earnestly calls upon the signatories to the 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos, peace- and justice-loving countries, international democratic organizations, the American people and the world's peoples to give stronger support to the Lao people's legitimate struggle, to resolutely demand that the Nixon Administration strictly implement the 1962 Geneva Agreements, stop its intervention and aggression in Laos first and foremost, end its war escalation and put a complete and unconditional halt to the bombing of Laos' territory."

"In the light of the Joint Declaration of the Indochinese Peoples' Summit Conference, with widespread and vigorous approval and support from the peace- and justice-loving people in the world, the entire Lao people united millions as one man, bravely all the US bombings and all sacrifices, and standing shoulder to shoulder with the fraternal Vietnamese and Khmer peoples, will certainly defeat the US aggressors and realize a peaceful, independent, neutral, democratic, unified and prosperous Laos, thereby doing their share in making Indochina a genuinely independent and peaceful area."

DRVN FOREIGN MINISTRY'S STATEMENT

(Continued from page 1)

masterminded the coup d'état and openly sent troops to invade Cambodia, the Khmer people and the leadership of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, rallied around the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia and implementing the political program of the National United Front of Kampuchea, have won tremendous gains in their fight against the US aggressors and the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique henchmen of the US.

The Lao people under the leadership of the Lao Patriotic Front headed by Prince Souphanouvong have been frustrating the "special war" of the US and have been credited with ever greater achievements in their fight to defend the 1962 Geneva Agreements and preserve and consolidate the liberated area, advancing toward a really peaceful, independent, neutral, democratic, united and prosperous Laos.

The Lao people as the three Indochinese countries, now as in the past, have set their minds on safeguarding the principles of the Geneva Agreements, viz. independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity for each country. The four points of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the ten-point overall solution of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, the five-point solution to the Lao problem proposed by the Lao Patriotic Front, the March 23, 1970 five-point Declaration on Cambodia by Samdech Head of State Norodom Sihanouk and the Joint Declaration of the Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples have all comprehensively and clearly reflected these principles.

In his appeal on July 20, 1969 President Ho Chi Minh said: "The delinquency of the US imperialists is already evident; still they have not given up their evil design of clinging to the southern part of

our country. Our armed forces and people throughout the country, millions as one man, upholding the principles of peace and fearless of sacrifices and hardships, are determined to carry on and step up the resistance war, with the firm resolve to fight and win, till complete withdrawal of US troops and the total collapse of the puppet army and administration, in order to liberate the South, defeat the North and proceed toward the peaceful reunification of the country." Acting upon the teachings of venerated President Ho Chi Minh and carrying out his sacred Testament, the Vietnamese people will persevere in, and step up, the fight to defeat the US "Vietnamization" of the war plan in the South, foil all US provocative acts against the North, defend and build the socialist North and fulfil their task as the great rear toward the great front line. They people in the countryside, in the solidarity with the fraternal Khmer and Lao peoples in the fight against the US aggressors and their henchmen, will complete victory, to achieve at all cost the fundamental national rights of the peoples of the three Indochinese countries which have been proclaimed and guaranteed by the 1954 Geneva Agreements. No arrogant threat can shake the iron will of the peoples of the three Indochinese countries.

The Vietnamese people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam express their profound gratitude to the Governments and peoples of the fraternal socialist countries, the peace- and justice-loving countries, international organizations and conferences, the world's peoples and the American people for their sympathy and valuable support.

The Vietnamese people are firmly convinced that all their friends in the world will afford greater assistance to the just struggle of the Vietnamese as well as other Indochinese peoples till total victory.

HEAD OF STATE SAMDECH NORODOM SIHANOUK'S SEVENTH MESSAGE

SAMDECH NORODOM SIHANOUK, Head of State of Cambodia and President of the National United Front of Kampuchea sent on July 17 his seventh message to the Cambodian nation.

The message was strongly critical of the monstrous crimes committed by the American aggressors and their henchmen in Saigon, Phnom Penh and Bangkok against Cambodia and called on the entire Khmer people resolutely step up their struggle to liberate the Fatherland from the grips of the US lackeys.

The message mentioned two characteristics of the present situation in Cambodia:

1.— In Phnom Penh city, the traitorous reactionaries and lackeys of the US imperialists egoistically lead a luxurious life of feudal lords. They are completely indifferent to the extremely miserable fate of the 6,500,000 fellow-countrymen living outside Phnom Penh who are suffering from the catastrophic consequences of a cruel and devastating war waged for, provoked and imposed on our people by the traitorous reactionaries and lackeys themselves, by their US imperialist masters and the Saigon and Bangkok traitors.

2.— Another characteristic of the present situation of our Kampuchea is the contrast between the security and comfort that Lon Nol and company are living in and the permission given in exchange to their US masters and others to destroy at will our country, our provinces, our districts and our villages and to oppress at will our population, robbing, plundering, raping, beating, torturing, mutilating and killing them.

After stressing that the entire Khmer people, in face of US imperialists and their lackeys' barbarous aggression, have risen up in arms, resolved to safeguard their beloved Motherland in defiance of any difficulty, the message put forth the following objectives of the Khmer people's revolution:

— Regain the national independence, neutrality and territorial integrity which the traitors Lon Nol, Sirik Matak, Sim Var and Ngoc Thanh have sold to US imperialism and its lackeys in Saigon and Bangkok.

— Re-establish democracy and the royal constitution trampled underfoot by the Lon Nol gang which has replaced them with an intolerable fascist regime and martial law.

— Build a new life for the people based on social justice, people's democracy and progressiveness conforming to the political programme of the FUNK (our people have already begun living such a new life in the liberated zones, provinces, districts and villages, where it has been possible to establish people's administration, people's justice and the people's economy).

— Establish a lasting peace which the bellicose American imperialists will not be able to jeopardize and still less to destroy because the three fraternal peoples of Khmer, Viet Nam and Laos, fortified by their fighting union, will drive them completely out of our three Indochinese countries of Cambodia, Viet Nam and Laos.

The message emphasized:

The overriding obligation of every true Khmer, every patriot, every Khmer worthy of the name is to rise up in arms and make revolution to drive out of the national territory for all time the traitorous Lon Nol gang, its masters, the US imperialists, and its sub-masters, the fascist Thieu-Ky group and the Thanom-Prapas clique.

Only armed struggle and revolution by our nation will be able radically to eliminate fascism, its criminal promoters, its accomplices, the corrupt big capitalists and Yankee imperialism.

Only armed struggle and revolution will make it possible for our country to advance and become prosperous, achieve economic independence, social justice and people's democracy.

The message warned the Buddhist clergy and the Royal Family against the propaganda of the Lon Nol gang:

"... Can our clergy and our Royal Family have confidence in such individuals as these? Those who have shamelessly betrayed the national monarchy without any reason have shown perfidious ingratitude to the throne to which they owe everything — could such persons not betray the nation, religion and Motherland?"

Our people in the countryside are extremely clearheaded: they clearly see the hideous features of this gang of traitors — that is why they energetically refuse and will continue to refuse to follow them. The duty of our fellow-countrymen from other social segments, that is to say, soldiers, politicians, merchants, industrialists, young and old intellectuals, is to take pity on our unhappy Motherland and to rise up courageously to put an end to the intolerable regime of Lon Nol and, shoulder to shoulder with the FUNK, with the people of the countryside, with the people's army of national liberation, to struggle to drive the US neo-colonialist imperialists and their Saigon and Bangkok lackeys completely out of our country.

In conclusion, the message said:

There is no shadow of a doubt in anyone that those who have committed and are committing horrible crimes of treason against the nation and people, selling out their own country, destroying and reducing to ashes their own Motherland, and provoking and generating war are indeed the Lon Nol — Sirik Matak — Sim Var — Ngoc Thanh gang.

The outcome of this war can only be favourable to our people. The victorious Khmer people will not fail to set up a people's government to try this gang and its principal accomplices and other principal "supporters."

The most severe punishment awaits all the principal traitors and they will not be able to do any harm to our Kampuchea. Once and for all rid of these dehumanized individuals, our Khmer country, nation and people will have a radiant, peaceful, prosperous, dignified future in the world community of sovereign nations.

THE features of everyone of the young fighters could be clearly seen in a bright moonlight night. Their uniforms were still muddy. The smell of powder was still coming out of the guns they were carrying on their shoulders. They were fighters of the Cambodian National Liberation Army just back from a successful attack on Prey Veng city. Hands of fellow-countrymen living the roads mother them after their new exploits and extended to them warm invitations. Please come and take a rest in my home," the comrades were told. "How many Americans have you killed? How many Phnom Penh Saigon puppet troops have you wiped out?" The Cambodian National Liberation Armymen, though familiar with such moving scenes since they won the battle of Prey Veng were so

Fighting in co-ordination with the first detachment, the second detachment of the NLA backed its way into the centre of the city and made of action the enemy stationed in the market area. Under the fierce blows of the NLA enemy knew

Second Attack on Prey Veng City

overwhelmed by the enthusiastic reception that they were at a loss for an appropriate answer. Some fell as lovely as a young girl before a stranger, holding a cigarette in one hand and a bowl of conch milk in the other. Their faces were pale of complete perplexity. Many were those who did not know what to do before a flurry of hands stretching out to invite them to come along. "How kind-looking they are!" an old lady exclaimed in a voice full of affection mingled with some compassion. This poverty-stricken mother could hardly imagine that the liberation fighters were so gentle. And to think that they had stormed the enemy's districts and villages, and my fair in Prey Veng city and routed the Saigon puppet marines nicknamed "Mad Infantries" was something past her comprehension.

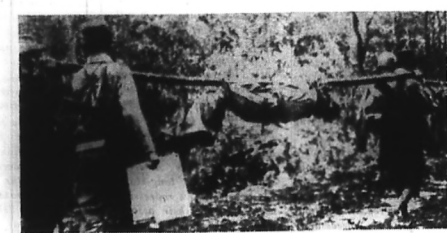
The battle began on the night of June 14 when Unit X of the Cambodian National Liberation Army sprang a surprise attack on the enemy entrenched inside Prey Veng city, including the governor's residence, the storage area and the market area (where the Saigon puppet marines were positioned). They opened up from all directions at the same time, and like sharp knives, thrust into the centre of the city and drove wedges into the enemy forces. For the first few minutes, the enemy reacted furiously. Two battalions of the Saigon puppet marines, one battalion of the main force of the Lon Nol army and two companies of their security forces formed a solid defence line in the northern sector of the city. The enemy had dug a series of fortifications, barbed wire, stills, made holes in the brick walls and covered many streets with machine-guns. Yet, after thirty minutes of furious fighting, the first detachment of the National Liberation Army approached the Cay Xang junction. Braving a barrage of

Then, under the cover of heavy machine-guns and mortar fire, a unit of the second detachment pressed their attack home and wiped out an enemy platoon stubbornly holding out in a house to the right of the market area. By 9 a.m. the National Liberation Army had controlled two-thirds of the city.

When fighting was raging, citizens in many streets emerging from the bullet-ridden walls and underground shelters went in search of the liberation fighters. Many brought biscuits and lemonade to the latter and offered to serve as guides in the mop-up of remaining enemy soldiers and local tyrants still hiding in some houses.

At about noon, Saigon fighter planes indiscriminately bombed many places in the city. Then 21 helicopters dropped a battalion of troops into the city to join the remnants of the routed units of the market area in an attempt to strike at the liberation forces from behind. But no sooner had the Saigon reinforcements landed than they came under violent fire from a detachment of Unit X, lying in ambush. The enemy's counter-attack was broken there and then. Again, the enemy signalled for wanton air and artillery bombardments on the town.

(Continued page 7)



Lon Nol soldiers evacuating their dead

Laos 1,500 US Aircraft Downed or Destroyed on the Ground

With an F-4 recently grounded in Sam Nuea, the Lao patriotic armed forces have so far bagged 1,500 US planes.

Commenting on this remarkable exploit, the Hanoi daily Nhan Dan wrote:

"In their air war of destruction against

Laos over the past six years, the US imperialists have committed countless crimes against the Lao people. They have made use of up-to-date aircraft of every description, including B-52s against civilians, cities, villages, pagodas and crops in the liberated zone. They have introduced into Laos US 'advisors' and American and Thai troops, intensified armament 'aid' to the rightist forces and thrown them into invasions into the liberated zone. Such savage 'special war' methods have no other purpose than to crush the Lao people's effort for independence, neutrality and peace and to turn Laos into a US neo-colony and military base.

Nevertheless their aggressive

and the attacks by their stooges have met with a stubborn resistance from the Lao armed forces and people. The criminal actions of the enemy cannot impede the forward march of the Lao revolution.

"In addition to the recent success in the Plain of Jars (Xieng Khouang province), Attoppeu, Saravane and many other localities, the destruction of 1,500 US aircraft highlighted the ardent patriotism, revolutionary heroism as well as high combativeness of the Lao armed forces and people under the disinterested leadership of the Lao Patriotic Front headed by Prince Souphanouvong, and marked a heavy failure of the US invaders in their air war of destruction against the Lao people."

THE Saigon paper *Cong Luan* (Opinion) carried a report by five South Vietnamese students on the atrocities they had suffered at the hands of the agents of the US-Saigon regime during thirteen months' detention in the now famous Con Son jail.

In their report submitted to the puppet "Lower House," the students said they could only describe a very minimal part of the conditions they experienced during their detention.

The students challenged any responsible organs of the Saigon administration to question the truthfulness of the facts they described in their report.

They related their illegal arrest and detention by the US and puppet forces they were sent to Poulo Conдор, and said:

"On arriving on the island we were 'welcomed' by more than 500 'discipline enforcing' agents who specialized in beating. Under a hail of blows we ran as fast as we could to the camp. A sexagenarian old man named Bien Hoa province received most of the beating that day for he was too weak to walk."

A Hell on Earth

AFTER one day in the camp, we were taken to the 'tiger cage' and our legs were shackled from that day till our release. A 'tiger cage' is a small cell of some 3 metres by 1.5 metres built in an area completely isolated from the rest of the camp by high walls. They pushed all the five of us into a 'cage'. On an average each of us had less than forty centimetres of floor space to lie on and do every normal function of a human body. Thus we were told to lie still with our shackled legs and not to sit up even during our meals and washes.

"The 'cages' are separated by a concrete wall and the only 'door' is a small aperture which was shut all day and night except for a few minutes when our meals were pushed in. The ceiling is made of transversal iron bars from which the prison wardens could watch every movement of us.

We were forbidden to utter a word all day and any infringement of this bizarre rule would be met with a serious flogging or 'boxing'.

by the 'discipline enforcing' agents. Even when the sanitation bucket was overbrimmed and excrement spread all over the floor we could not ask for help. On raining days water was freely poured down from the tile roof which had long been left in disrepair. On windy days, we were practically buried in a storm of sand and dust. The floor itself was littered with pebbles and earth that added up year after year."

Prison Diet: Rice Mixed with Sand and Pebbles. Live Lizards, a Substitute for Meat.

A common diet is applied to all the wards for all the more than 8,000 political prisoners

Testimonies of Saigon Students on Poulo Conдор

IN A "TIGER CAGE"

and prisoners of common offences including women and children as well as over 3,000 detainees awaiting trial.

"All the year round, the prisoners were given only two dishes, namely dried fish and a kind of rotten fish pickle. As for the rice, apart from being of the lowest quality, it was rationed at minimal quantity.

"To restrict to the minimum the quantity of food allotted to the prisoners, the wardens resorted to various methods: first, they allowed us only three minutes to take our meals, secondly they ordered the rice to be cooked with plenty of water so that it became a sort of paste which could hardly sustain your hunger for a few hours. Thirdly, before giving us the rice ration the wardens have taken care to mix it with sand and small pebbles.

"As for the dried fish, it hardly deserves this name because it was

so rotten that it became as bitter as quinine. In fact, it is the same kind of fish used by South Viet Nam farmers as fertilizer.

"For many years in the 'tiger cages' we never saw a vegetable plant of any kind nor any other thing that is green.

"Owing to the prolonged lack of vegetable and meat, most of our teeth and gums were in a serious condition. We had no other way than to eat even the wild leaves they gave us for toilet paper. We had even to seek for crickets, dung beetles and other insects and even small lizards that happened to fall from the ceiling. Every time any one of us who was taken to the

immediately thrashed by the prison guards.

"When we were told that washing water was being brought in, the prison guards fettered our legs to a steel bar and ordered us to squat by groups of five. Then from above they showered a barrel of water on us. Of course, the water had not the time to pass all over our bodies."

1,000 Specialists in Torture

THE US and puppet have sent to Poulo Conдор over 1,000 thugs to torture the detainees. These men had all been convicted of serious offences on the mainland and meted sentences ranging from five years of imprisonment to hard labour for life or death. Many of them had been in the puppet army and later transformed by US-puppet agents into professional torturers. They were provided with privies and commutations and given awards in terms of money, liquor, prostitutes, etc.

"In fact, many of the torturers have been set free after killing many political prisoners. One of the latest methods they used against the Poulo Conдор prisoners consists in pouring powdered lime on the prisoners to make them suffocate, lose consciousness or vomit blood. They also struck with iron bars on our heads and on the limbs, mainly at the most sensible points of our bodies. Once in December 1969, the guards killed two women prisoners by pouring a full bucket of powdered lime into a women's cell. On May 31, 1970, they killed another seven by the same method. No less brutal is the use of prisoners as guinea pigs for poisons."

The report also referred to the American-style foot fetters which are said to be made out of a kind of steel called 'FG' supplied as aid by the US. These shackles have spoked-like iron teeth that eat into your flesh and cause mangle and tumour on your feet.

Any who dared raise protests was sent to the 'Cell Number Two' which is a sort of semi-circular cell that would kill the prisoners in a short period.

Cries such as "A man is dying in our room!" or "Someone has died in our room!" were frequently heard from the "tiger cages."

By calling the patriots who resist them "tigers" and impounding them in "cages," the Americans and their stooges indirectly pay tribute to their heroism for the detainees have withstood all ill-treatments and torture.

In fact, the real tigers, those who unscrupulously devour human flesh and have lost all human feeling, are those who direct that large-scale genocidal operation against the Vietnamese, Lao and Khmer peoples. Facing these tigers are men—in the full meaning of the word—the fervent patriots loving social justice, who are resolved to defend to the bitter end the independence and freedom of their country. No doubt that it is men, not tigers, who will come out victorious.

IN THE UNITED STATES

New Protests Against Viet Nam War

ACCORDING to reports from the United States, many senators and members of the House of Representatives recently met in an anti-war "bipartisan conference" in Washington to urge speedy withdrawal of all US troops from South Viet Nam and a "set date" for this withdrawal.

At the gathering which was part of a three-week campaign initiated by many senators against the Viet Nam war, several speakers including senators M. Hughes, Thomas Eagleton, Pater Dominick, William Fulbright, former Ambassador A. Harriman, ex-chief of the US delegation to the Paris Conference on Viet Nam, etc., came out against Nixon's "Vietnamization" of the war and his continuance in power of the Saigon triumvirate and prolongation of the war of aggression in Viet Nam.

Senators Hatfield and Mc Govern, Democrats, pressed for the pull-out of all US troops from South-east Asia before June 30, 1971, affirming that their proposal was supported by many senators, democratic and republican alike.

ACCORDING to AP, the International League of Women for Peace and Freedom in the US has called on all American women to launch an "economic war" against the US aggression in Viet Nam.

76th Plenary Session of Paris Conference on Viet Nam (July 23, 1970)

DRVN Delegation Stresses Nixon's Responsibility

DINH Ba Thi, representative of the PRG of the RVSN, said:

"Only when in South Viet Nam there does not remain a single US aggressor nor a dictatorial and fascist puppet administration, like that of Thieu-Ky-Khiem, and when a coalition government is formed in which all the political forces which stand for South Viet Nam—its independence, peace and neutrality—are represented, can the right of the South Vietnamese people to self-determination and democratic liberties be truly guaranteed."

In the name of the DRVN government, Nguyen Minh Vy stressed that the Nixon Administration is responsible for the prolongation of its war of aggression in South Viet Nam and the extension of that war to the whole of Indochina and for the present deadlock of the Paris Conference. He also condemned the US for the bombardments of some regions of the DRVN on July 19, 20 and 21.

Second Attack...

(Continued from page 5)

At 4 p.m., following barages of artillery fire, the enemy rennais at the market area and the Saigon reinforcements launched a new counter-attack in the city. But the time, too, they were fiercely intercepted by the liberation fighters. At 6 p.m. they had to withdraw a good

On July 9, about 50 women among them Mrs Corretta Scott King, widow of Martin Luther King, called an "emergency conference" to organize on a world scale a war against war."

Katherine L. Camp, President of the League declaration of the women throughout the country to refrain from shopping on the first Saturday every month and boycott goods manufactured by those firms that are the chief suppliers of the war."

On July 11, an important group of peace militants went from Washington to Edgewood (Maryland) in an attempt to plant a "tree of life" in front of the chemical warfare centre in protest against the bloody war conducted by the US in Viet Nam. Police made many arrests. On July 12, Senator Mc Govern went on the air to condemn the US administration for allowing the Thieu-Ky-Khiem troika to imprison thousands of South Vietnamese patriots and seeking to keep it in power.

On July 16, in co-ordination with anti-war actions of American GIs in other parts of the US, many troops at Fort Benning (Georgia) set up a popular tribunal to arraign the US government and the war-mongers who had ordered systematic massacres of South Vietnamese civilians.

(Continued from page 8)

And for the tourist in transit and the superficially informed foreign journalist, the city was but an immense brothel. If the speculators, the corrupt generals, the taxi-girls and the torturers gave themselves the wall in the city, inducing people to believe that American influence was deep and bound to last indefinitely the resiliency and the soul of the city were elsewhere. The police had tried hard to beef up its strength, perfect its armaments, devise the most sophisticated methods of torture, and impose a strict control on the districts and the families. Yet the city broke loose from it. Strikes, and demonstrations took place in quick succession, and not a few districts really were out of law bounds, because no official of policeman dared enter these areas without the escort of whole battalions of troops.

Our readers may still remember the big movements which, since 1934, have rocked Saigon and other South Vietnamese cities: demonstrations for peace, for respect for the Geneva Agreements, and against Diem, Khanh and Ky, workers of textile mills,

of the power station and arms and fuel depots on strike, students, school pupils and Buddhists constantly battling against a fascist and corrupt regime. And how can we forget the unforgettable days of 1968 when Saigonese, in co-ordination with the people's forces coming from the districts and the US Embassy, the US-puppet General HQ buildings, the "Presidential Palace" and US bases.

Saigon has never been and will never be this sanctuary. This impregnable city, the Yankee strategists thought they could build on South Viet Nam soil. Tens of thousands of policemen, some 100 battalions and thousands of tanks, planes and helicopters are responsible for the defence of Saigon. Around the city, within a radius of dozens of kilometres, B-52 bombing, artillery shelling and toxic chemical spraying have raved to the ground or blotted out everything susceptible of shel-

cases in which gravely sick or wounded people under her care were taken to a centre for new interrogation without her knowledge.

The provincial prison of Quang Ngai, she said, which was built by the French to accommodate 500 inmates was keeping from 800 to 1,000 detainees at the time she stayed there, 80% of whom were political prisoners.

FROM July 5 to 7, Black Americans in Asbury Park, a small town of 20,000, half of them Black, took to the streets to protest against repression and racial discrimination. They demanded that Nixon improve the conditions of the Black, give them jobs, put an end to racial segregation, etc.

Violent clashes broke out between demonstrators and the police and paratroops called in by the US authorities who imposed a curfew throughout the town.

Black Americans in Michigan mounted on July 11 a similar action. Violent scuffles took place throughout the night between Black people and the police who opened fire on the demonstrators. On the same night, racists in New Bedford (Massachusetts) fired on the Black population in the town. Local authorities ordered a curfew from 9 p.m. to 6 a.m. in these two cities. The police came down savagely on the Black people.

SAIGON, Yesterday and Today

of the power station and arms and fuel depots on strike, students, school pupils and Buddhists constantly battling against a fascist and corrupt regime. And how can we forget the unforgettable days of 1968 when Saigonese, in co-ordination with the people's forces coming from the districts and the US Embassy, the US-puppet General HQ buildings, the "Presidential Palace" and US bases.

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ting a guerrilla. Saigon remains a volcano on which the Yankee occupier and his valets can never sleep in peace. Because in this city, even the war invalids have risen up.

More than ever, the words of Trinh Hoi Duc remain true here: the souls are valiant more than ever; more than ever they treasure justice and more than ever they detest money—the dollar. And like Trinh Hoi Duc, we can add: here, the women are also of the same stuff.

TO THE READER

We are aware that there is much room for improvement in the wording of our paper. We apologize for this shortcoming and highly appreciate all your suggestions as they will help us to serve you more efficiently in future.

Men and...

(Continued from page 1)

the Son My revelations and the Con Son tiger cages.

For those who have followed the developments in Viet Nam, the crimes perpetrated by the US over these last few years are but the continuation on a larger scale of those committed since the outset and are but their logical and inevitable sequel. It is the very nature of the regime, Washington's neo-colonialist policy, which remains the underlying cause.

The intention to enslave a highly politically conscious people who have liberated half of their country, to achieve far-reaching democratic reforms necessarily leads to the most inhuman and cruel methods and

with modern fascist methods and the technical means made available by US economy and science. To all that should be added racism and the traditional violence of the American society.

The fact that the GIs or puppet troops collect the ears of their victims or remove their livers in cold blood, that US officers have gathered women and children shot dead, that torturers visit atrocities upon detainees, can touch off a righteous indignation in the world. But the world's peoples must understand that those who, sitting in their air-conditioned offices, give orders to flatten towns and villages with B-52s, to spray millions of gallons of chemicals over vast areas, to herd all the rural population in strategic hamlets, those who delimit "free killing" areas for the US air and land forces to fire at all that is moving,

those who have unleashed aircraft against factories, dams, hospitals, schools in the DRVN to wipe out the gains of dozens of years of labour, are more guilty than the GI who on orders from his commander, empties his clips on women and children.

US imperialism and the reactionary forces in Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos have put up a desperate struggle to check the forward march of our peoples. The degree of their barbarity is proportionate to the gravity of their predicament, and also to the huge means put at their disposal by modern techniques. Neo-colonialism and neo-fascism go hand in hand. The fight against crimes and against atrocities could not be waged fruitfully if it is not be linked to a stubborn and persistent effort, against the neo-colonial policy, against Wash-

ington's policy of aggression.

By calling the patriots who resist them "tigers" and impounding them in "cages," the Americans and their stooges indirectly pay tribute to their heroism for the detainees have withstood all ill-treatments and torture.

In fact, the real tigers, those who unscrupulously devour human flesh and have lost all human feeling, are those who direct that large-scale genocidal operation against the Vietnamese, Lao and Khmer peoples. Facing these tigers are men—in the full meaning of the word—the fervent patriots loving social justice, who are resolved to defend to the bitter end the independence and freedom of their country. No doubt that it is men, not tigers, who will come out victorious.



fundamental claim, common to all, that of national independence, a real catalyst.

Saigon was the centre which gave start to numerous movements, and all the patriotic movements born elsewhere had powerful repercussions in this restless city. Strikes of Ba Son workers (1912) of workers who dug the Kinh Doi canal, of seamen (1919), general school strike of 1925 on the occasion of the funerals of the patriot Phan Chu Trinh, let alone the multiple actions of various associations and numerous movements (Dong Xu of Phan Boi Chau, Zuy Tan of Phan Chu Trinh,

also to join a simple strike. The repression of 1930-1931 was particularly harsh.

With the growth of the national and social movement and the advent of the Popular Front in France in 1936, legal activities could be stepped up. Strikes were followed by meetings. Intellectuals, tradesmen and employers joined workers and students in laying down claims, demonstrating, founding associations and journals, and petitioning. Saigon was literally a political beehive. Hundreds of thousands of people thus were awakened to political consciousness and learned to reason and to organize themselves.

This asset was going to be particularly valuable when in 1937-39, renewed colonial repression hard hit Viet Nam. Summary executions and mass deportations which followed up the unsuccessful uprising of November 1940 could in no way strangle the national movement. Until 1945, the Japanese police joined efforts with the French police in an attempt to subdue Saigon. But under a legal cover, or above all with clandestine structures deep-rooted among the popular masses, the national movement continued, preparing the ground for future developments.

History was fast moving. On the night of August 21 to August 23, 1945, one million people, Saigoneers and inhabitants of outlying villages, rose up then paraded in the streets. This tidal wave swept out the puppet pro-Japanese administration. People's power was established amidst an indescribable enthusiasm.

ON Sept. 23, 1945, assisted by the Anglo-Indian forces, the French launched their first attack against Saigon (and Viet Nam). The unarmed Saigoneers fought back resolutely. For weeks, strikes, sabotage and street harassments pinned down colonialist forces in the city and destroyed an important amount of material and many installations. A young boy, Le Van Tam, laid down his life doing the duty of a living torch and set on fire the Nha Be petrol depot. The general elections of Jan. 6, 1946 took place in Saigon in spite of the presence of French troops: 35 Saigoneers lost their lives so that the

city population could demonstrate its will and send its representatives to Viet Nam's first National Assembly.

If armed struggle should be organized principally in the countryside, Saigon, like any other Vietnamese cities, remained no less a vital resistance centre. At the end of the 2nd World War, the French colonialists had licked into shape their armaments and then repressive methods. The police network in occupied cities provided them with a seemingly invulnerable steel shield. The population of a city so controlled could do nothing more than submit.

Saigon did not flag. Underground organizations kept up their activities; demonstrations, strikes, sabotage, petitions, protests multiplied. The Resistance sent out its directives, collected medicines, money, and even arms in the very heart of the city. In 1947, the mayor of Saigon, Phan Van Chuong, a respectable old man, joined the maquis. The same year, 500 most well known intellectuals signed a manifesto affirming their support to the Ho Chi Minh Government; in 1949, the number of signatures to a similar petition ran to 1,000, in spite of intensified persecution.

The impotence of repression came to the surface with the huge demonstrations in 1950. On Jan. 9, close to one million people took part in a funeral procession for student Tran Van On killed by the police. On March 19, half a million Saigoneers protested against the presence in the port of US warship which finally had to leave.

THE Americans and Ngo Dinh Diem, together with disguised CIA agents planted in the University of Michigan and New York police experts covered Saigon, immediately after their installation of a police network much heavier, much more sophisticated and better equipped than that of the French. The means of blackmail, corruption and devaluation grew in proportion to the dollar power and American technological progress.

Saigon was literally overwhelmed by the police network, by American goods, films, nightclubs and way of thinking and living.

(Continued page 7)

SAIGON Yesterday and Today

It was in the 17th century. Washington was still non-existent. Yet, in the basin of the Dong Nai River, Vietnamese pioneers already came and reclaimed marshes, and built this city of Gia Dinh about which the writer and historian Trinh Hoi Di had said this to say: "Gia Dinh city, wholly Vietnamese, surrounded by fertile lands, is rich in rice; there famine is unknown. That is why people amass great wealth and live comfortably, even in luxury, and letters prosper."

"Gia Dinh, city of the South," he added, "where the sun shines at its hottest, boasts numbers of valiant and justice-loving souls who make light of money. Women, too, are made of the same stuff."

Gia Dinh was the ancient name of Saigon. Its builders had in their blood all the traditions of perseverance and indomitability which, for centuries, had enabled the Vietnamese people to safeguard their independence. Moreover, their temperament had the impetuosity of pioneers, out to conquer new lands, drain marshes, transform luxuriant forests and tame wild beasts and venomous reptiles in order to set up villages and new centres. Once conquered, the South land is a source of an unequalled wealth; and so the man of Gia Dinh is liberal towards his friends and his acquaintances. Never does he mind the expense.

These pioneers had left a multi-millenary society. On this vast, virgin land of the South, they had constituted the Vietnamese society with all its structures, its customs, its habits and its institutions. They remained attached, heart and soul, to the ancient native land, and sang:

For a thousand years, our heart has always been with the Snaring Dragon.

The Snaring Dragon, Thang Long, was the capital of Viet Nam, now called Hanoi, which had many times resisted powerful invaders. Moreover, from Thang Long, the land of the North, farmers, handicraftsmen and men of letters poured out incessantly.

On the land of the South,

the rites and trammels of the ancient society worked less and people kept a longing for freedom. Everybody is ready to stand up and fight against all injustices, ready for every sacrifice.

In this regard, there is a quite typical Saigonee idiom: people asked to ponder over the consequences of their acts, usually retort, "Chet Bo" (Me, die, I don't care!).

It was these Southern people, these men and women of Gia Dinh who had been the first to confront the conquerors from the West. The Imperial Court of Hue, weak and corrupt, had soon capitulated to the technical power of the enemy. Whereas the royal troops were disbanded under the enemy fire, the peasants and scholars of Gia Dinh, for years, put up a stubborn, heroic and ingenious resistance which commanded the admiration of the invaders themselves. Armed with bamboo sticks, the patriots attacked French columns and ships. The movements succeeded one another, uninterrupted. The son of Trung Dinh took the place of his father, killed by the enemy, and the peasant Nguyen Trung Truc, before the firing squad, shouted, "So long as there remains a blade of grass on this soil, there will still be men to fight the invaders!" At the service of this resistance, the scholars put all their prestige and literary talent.

WHEN, after long years the colonial regime succeeded in pacifying the country, it wanted to make Saigon the commercial capital of Indochina, and also its depot, with a view to ensnaring Vietnamese minds and hearts. The people had turned Saigon into a fighting city.

If Saigon port was the exit door through which colonialism pumped out the country's wealth, it was also the battlement for the new state. The workers born of these industrial and commercial activities: dockers, workers of the Ba Son dockyard, rice mills and canal diggers, seamen, employees. Economic and social claims were associated with the

Thanh Hoa of Nguyen An Ninh, etc.). Saigon was the "pearl of the Far East" only for the tourists, but for the colonialist administrator and policeman, it was a bantering, difficult, even dangerous city, not a sinecure at all.

The founding of the Indochinese Communist Party in 1930 and the economic crisis of the 30's gave a spur to all these social and national movements. 1930 was marked by 98 strikes, and in 1931, an event ushered in a new era: on Jan. 21, peasants of neighbouring villages streamed into Saigon to join the workers of the Nha Be oil farm in commemorating Lenin, Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg! The worker-peasant alliance was set up. Another striking feature: this meeting was held under the protection of self-defence forces in anticipation of police attacks.

Under the colonial regime, neither meetings nor strikes were lawful. The police were authorized to fire without warning on the strikers or demonstrators. The arrest during a demonstration or a strike could lead directly to long-term or life imprisonment. Torture during interrogations was a common practice. It required much courage, or simply heroism, not only to organize, but

Photos

Above:

Saigon 1950:
Demonstration
in front of US
Information
Hall.

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Saigon 1968:
Tet popular
offensive.